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membership *all who toil*. Cease this conflict with fellow-workingmen. Store up power. The money spent in strikes is wasted, gone, irretrievably lost. Conserve these funds. These accumulations are capital, and capital in use gives power. Where now is the oppressor? With a liberal and perfect organization that shall include all who work for wages, with means and skill, what cannot be done if guided by enlightened and temperate zeal? Are you dissatisfied with your lot? Use this stored up power, build factories and workshops of your own, buy shares in mines, and own the stock of railroads and trolley lines. If selfish and unwise capitalists think to take any undue advantage, do not fear them, your dollars are as potent as theirs. But abandon, now and forever, all brutal and destructive methods that have only brought distress and obloquy upon the fair fame of the American workman.

STOCKTON BATES.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HAWAII.

THE great political importance of the Hawaiian Islands is mainly due to their unique geographical position. They are situated midway from Panama to Hong-Kong and directly on the shortest line from Puget Sound to Australia. Here the two great lines of Pacific Ocean trade intersect, and here vessels must stop for refuge and supplies.

In 1875 the United States and Hawaii concluded a treaty of reciprocity which has undoubtedly given to the Islands their present wealth, and, in connection with their geographical position, their commercial importance. Several amendments were added by the Senate relative to the use of Hawaiian harbors by the United States. In 1887 another treaty was made which agreed that in exchange for certain commercial advantages the United States should have *exclusive* right to establish a naval station in the Hawaiian Islands; and Pearl Harbor was designated. In 1889 the United States proposed an enlargement of these provisions by which both were to have superior advantages and the United States were to have *perpetual* as well as *exclusive* right to establish and fortify a naval station.

Hawaii is an American State, and is embraced in the American commercial and military systems. The United States has for many years past kept warships at Honolulu, and has exercised a friendly suzerainty over the Islands which is without parallel in the history of the world. The attitude of this Government has been that of a *de-facto* supremacy, in reality a protectorate. The treaties that have been discussed and ratified between these countries have been for the closest reciprocity and for a restriction upon the disposal of Hawaiian bays, harbors, and crown lands to other nations; and attempts have been made by both to have ratified treaties of annexation. Indeed, for the past fifty years this has been a question familiar alike to Americans and Hawaiians, and its importance increases with each new event in the Pacific and with each island seized there by European maritime powers. In 1886 Hawaii was nearer to the United States than to the territory of any other country. Now, the English possession, Johnson Island, acquired in 1891, is only 600 miles away. England has also seized and fortified Fanning and Christmas islands, forming a chain of possessions toward Australia. France and Germany have not been far behind Great Britain. Both have strongly fortified stations in the Pacific. It is a notable fact that European powers, especially England, have been strength-

ening themselves more and more in the Pacific as an isthmian canal has become a possibility of the near future. England has a chain of fortified stations around the world at intervals of 3,000 miles or less, guarding all the main thoroughfares of trade on the globe. There is a single flaw, the non-possession of Hawaii. She is weaker in the Pacific than in any other quarter of the world. The possession of Hawaii would make her strong where now she is weak, would make her mistress of the Pacific as now she is mistress of the Atlantic. Sentiment has not hoisted the British flag over strongly fortified stations all over the world. Centuries of experience have taught Great Britain that this is the only way to protect her commerce in peace or in war. Other foreign nations have not been slow to grasp this idea. France, Germany, Holland, Spain, and Russia are second only to Great Britain in the possession of such stations.

Hawaii is the strategic point of control for the whole northern Pacific. Turn for a moment from the Pacific to the Atlantic and examine the condition of affairs there. Our Atlantic coast is menaced by a line of hostile stations. England has strongly fortified and completely munitioned stations at Halifax and St. John's. Bermuda has been fortified and supplied at very heavy expense, and there she has built the largest floating drydock in the world; ample shops and immense quantities of coal have been provided. Thus at 600 miles from New York and less than 600 from the Carolinas, she has a station second to none in the world, from which as a base her ships could in a few hours attack any Atlantic seaport and control the commerce of the western hemisphere in that ocean. Our Gulf coast is similarly threatened by Jamaica and St. Lucia; and these with Belize would control any isthmian canal on the Atlantic side. England recognizes that the opening of such a canal must of necessity divert the route of trade on the Western Hemisphere from the Straits of Magellan to the Isthmus, and she is endeavoring to be ready for such a contingency. France has St. Pierre and Miquelon on the northeast, and Guadeloupe Martinique, and Cayenne on the south and southeast. Spain has Cuba and Porto Rico, while the Dutch at Curacao and the Danes at St. Thomas, either of which could probably be used by Germany, complete the line of hostile bases on our Atlantic coast.

Returning to the Pacific, any foreign power occupying Hawaii would have an impregnable base from which to strike at any part of our Pacific coast and destroy our Pacific commerce. Not only this, but Hawaii is the only base in the Pacific from which this could be successfully done. Great Britain's ships are never more than 1,500 miles from a base of supplies and repair, where, protected by immense land batteries and all modern appliances for harbor defence, they can find havens of safety and refuge.

One of the greatest difficulties is in coaling ships of war. Vessels of the "Philadelphia" class have a coal capacity of 1,000 tons. Moving at a moderate rate of speed, such vessels can accomplish about 6,000 miles without recoaling, but under forced draught 3,500 miles would probably be the greatest distance they could hope to make. Commerce-destroyers are designed to make very long cruises, and will carry from 2,000 to 3,000 tons of coal. Moving slowly, such vessels will accomplish about 16,000 miles without recoaling; but to overtake and destroy commercial steamers, they must often move at their highest speed, and under such circumstances they would not make over 10,000 or 12,000 miles. Therefore, if ships of war operate from a single base, 1,500 to 2,000 miles for cruisers and 5,000 to 6,000 miles for commerce-destroyers would be the

extreme distances for operations, barring delays from accidents and crippling from hostile vessels, which are always likely contingencies. Much has been done in recent years to improve the United States Navy. New ships, equal to any others in the world, have been built at very great cost, but the government does not seem to have been equally progressive in providing the necessary coaling stations. All other great nations have recognized the necessity of providing them. Without such stations, for example, no nation could make successful war against the United States, a fact fully appreciated by Italy in the late diplomatic incident arising from the New Orleans affair.

To protect our Atlantic coast in case of war the United States would have to capture and retain the hostile bases fronting that coast, and to protect her Pacific Coast, she must similarly hold Hawaii. If she possessed these strongholds she would be safe against the combined attacks of the world. The power that holds San Francisco and Hawaii will control the western outlet of the isthmian canal and hence the commerce of the Pacific. The possession of the Bermudas by the British in the war of 1812-14 caused immense damage to American trade in the Atlantic. Geographically the Hawaiian Islands bear the same important relative position toward the Pacific that the Bermudas do toward the Atlantic coast, a position which makes them important alike to foreign war and maritime powers and essential to the United States.

England has sought in every possible way to establish commercial and social supremacy in the Hawaiian Islands, to the end that some time the over-ripened plum might fall into her lap. She doubtless would be much pleased to join the United States in a Samoan-like protectorate over this group. She is now striving to land a British cable from Vancouver to Australia on Neckar or Bird Island and but ill conceals her chagrin that the diplomacy of the United States has forced her to give up the Hawaiian group and pass seven hundred miles farther on to Fanning Islands.

"The maritime power that holds Pearl River Harbor and moors her fleet there holds the key to the North Pacific." "For no trade could prosper or even exist, while a hostile power, possessing a powerful and active marine, should send out its cruisers to prey upon commerce; but once firmly established upon them (the Hawaiian Islands), it might put to defiance any means of attack which could be brought to bear upon them." On the other hand it is declared by a United States naval officer that in case of war, the islands would be a source of national mortification. He advocates their neutralization by international treaty so that all nations could coal and refuge there, and declares that the rest is sentimentality. It would doubtless be very philanthropic to neutralize these islands, but it is difficult to accept the idea on any other ground. Another objection urged is that the native population is not fit for American citizenship. Perhaps not; but the native population is less than 30,000 and rapidly decreasing, and moreover is far more intelligent than was the Southern negro when the Fifteenth Amendment gave him citizenship in 1866. Again we hear that the United States should not enlarge itself territorially by this annexation; but an examination of previous enlargements in various ways renders the objection to 7,000 square miles of Hawaiian territory absurd. In 1783 our territory was 827,844 square miles, while to-day, through the Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Mexican, Gadsden, and Alaskan acquisitions it is 3,603,884 square miles.

Still another objection is the distance of those islands from the Ameri-

can coast, but this distance is much less than the average distance of our Alaskan territory, and in the present state of ocean travel 2,100 miles is a short distance. Indeed, no sufficient reason can be advanced against the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, while on the other hand American interests, American glory, American supremacy are at stake.

Every consideration in fact forces us to the conclusion that the annexation or territorial acquisition of these islands is a military, naval, and commercial necessity to the United States.

JOHN A. HARMAN, *Lieut. U. S. A.*

THE DANGER OF THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

THE Federal Judiciary is in great danger from itself! Unless it is shorn of much of its arbitrary power, and many imperfections which have become engrafted on the system are eradicated, it may not be long before Congress, which has power to abolish all Federal courts except the Supreme Court, may be compelled to enact such legislation as will practically amount to their abolition. For many years a feeling of unfriendliness to those courts has been growing. About seven years ago Congress, to mollify a public demand for legislation against them, cut off their jurisdiction in more than two-thirds of the number of their cases. This for a time seemed to quiet the public, but there have been so many fresh causes for dissatisfaction, that there is now a greater cry against them than ever.

It would be almost a calamity to have the jurisdiction of Federal courts over controversies between residents and non-residents taken away. The loans made by foreigners to Americans, and by Eastern to Western people, are almost fabulous, and out of them arise the greatest and most important contests, and it would not only weaken credits, but it would be a great injustice not to furnish such litigants a tribunal free from local prejudice and influence. But this system cannot long endure unless there is a radical change. Some "reformers" will always be found who believe that the jury system should be abolished, and yet all the States, including the last that have been admitted into the Union, guarantee it to the people, and no State government would be considered perfect without it. Many Federal judges, however, treat the constitutional guarantee of trial by jury as a meaningless, high-sounding phrase, and look upon the jury as a species of ornamental furniture. The law contemplates that the jury shall decide the facts, and the judge the law; but in many Federal courts, the judge, in his charge to the jury, argues the facts, taking a one-sided view of them; and often the most fervid and partisan argument in the case is the judge's charge. Then, after he has thoroughly biased the minds of the jury, he says cynically: "Now, these are my ideas, but it is for you to pass upon the facts," and the appellate courts say that this is a legal antidote for the poison he has administered; but every lawyer knows, as a matter of fact, that it is not. As long as the people so revere this system as to make it a part of their written constitutions, they will look with great disfavor on courts that make a farce of it. In most of the State courts, the judge is required in his charge to state both sides of each contested proposition of law, and permit the jury, without comment from him, to decide the facts. If the jury system is unworthy, blot it out of the Constitution, or else let the jury, unawed by the powerful influence of the judge, perform its duty.

When a Populist Legislature, "recognizing the severity of the times,"